1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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567 was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

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454 Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

| | In U. S. Dollars* | |
|---|---|---|
| | Per Unit | Total Investment |
| 603 mills | $2,500 | $1,507,500 |
| 48,240 slaves | 150 | 7,236,000 |
| 60,300 oxen | 20 | 904,500 |
| 23,100 horses | 20 | 464,500 |
| 78,800 ha. of agric. land | 46 (approx.) | 3,618,000 |
| 38,528 ha. of forest | 23 (approx.) | 884,000 |
| 47 steam engines | 3,000 | 141,000 |
| 62 water canals | 3,000 | 186,000 |
| Improvements of each mill | 2,000 | 1,206,000 |
| Total in Bahia | | $16,147,500 |

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

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175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
471 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of
454 the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital investment.[35]

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade
439 deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured
249 by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers, the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,[36] a stable and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern, the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

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245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches, in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Caxassari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets [443] of Salvador without processing.

241 178 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively [454] primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be transported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca [438] is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually 471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of [454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange [427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment [464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although [592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing [462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported [439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally [443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the [464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brasil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182-83).

[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832–1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *No Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.